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1886

Speach of Hon. Samuel Mc Lee, 8 Kentucky in Reconstruction

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SPEECH

OF

HON. SAMUEL MCKEE, OF KENTUCKY.

ON

RECONSTRUCTION.

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MARCH 3, 1866.

Mr. McKEE. I ask the Clerk to read the joint resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read, as follows:

Joint resolution to amend the Constitution of the United States, prohibiting conspirators and men who have been or shall be engaged in rebellion from holding certain offices.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-thirds of both Houses concurring.) That the following amendment to the Constitution be proposed to the several State Legislatures, which, when ratified by three fourths of the several States, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution :

by three fourths of the several States, shall be value to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution: ARTICLE-. No person shall be qualified or shall hold the office of President or Vice President of the United States, Senator or Representative in the national Congress, or any office now held under appointment from the President of the United States and requiring the confirmation of the Senate, who has been or shall hereafter be engaged in any armed conspiracy or rebellion against the Government of the United States, or who has held or shall hereafter hold any office, either civil or military, under any pretended government er conspiracy set up within the same; or who has voluntarily aided, or who shall hereafter to functed States.

Mr. McKEE. Mr. Speaker, it is my purpose at present to submit some remarks on the proposition just read. I know, sir, that the country is excited, agitated, and perplexed on the great question of reconstruction upon which all men talk, and yet, sir, if we adopt the theory of certain persons, and of a certain party, the term is wholly inappropriate. These men tell us the work is done; nay more, that when the conflict of arms ceased that people who had hurled war upon the land were and are to-day entitled to all the rights the same as if they had for four years moved on in the smooth path of obedience to law. If this be true, then why talk of reconstruction? We are told again by this same party and these same men that we have no need of constitutional amendments, and he who proposes them and the party which advocates them are denounced as men who eeek to destroy the Government of our fathers.

Now, sir, how does the nation find hereff to day? A great war has swept over the land, a war set on foot and carried on by an armed conspiracy for the avowed purpose of destroying the Union of the States secured to us by the blood of our fathers. This war against the Union, against the Constitution, against freedom, and in the interest of slavery, having failed in its purpose, and the armed power of the conspirators having been crushed, at the end of the great struggle it appears most fit and proper to examine the f. amework of our Government, see if any of its parts have been shaken, if any have been broken in by the storm, to take them out, put new ones in their places, remove the rotten planks and put in new bulwarks against which the storm cloud of treason in future may dash its winds in vain. Even while the war raged the great

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loyal heart of the nation when it discovered the rotten plank tore it out of the ship of state and cast it forth into the sea of oblivion. Like a skillful physician we went right at the root of the disease, tore it from the side of the patient who had groaned under its smart for almost a century, and cast it out forever. Yes, forever I for freedom's voice has recorded the verdict, "The curse of slavery shall never blight this fair land again." One great work has been accomplished even during the struggle with arms. At the end, what do we need? We need to reconstruct the Government. Not that it has been destroyed, but to adapt it to our charged condition, and to secure to the people the rule of that Government they risked their all to save.

I care not to argue the question or discuss the theory as to whether the States lately in rebellion are dead or living States; this is not material to my purpose nor to the proposition which I submit. This much I will only say. That so far as the rebellion could, it destroyed their State governments, and certainly while it held control over the eleven secended States claimed by the now defuncted confederacy they had no State governments which the Conas legal. Men may ery out until the end of time, "Once a State slways a State," but that cry will prove nothing, and cannot conceal the fact that their legal governments were overthrown. The structure- set up for them by the Constitution and laws of the United States were thrown down. Disloyal ones and governments foreign to our laws took their places. At the end of the war these disloyal and foreign State organizations are swept out of existence. New governments must be given the people of these States. In the absence of Congress the executive head of the nation begins the work. Has he any power given him under our laws to create a civil government for any State? Yet in all these States he pulls down whom he wills and sets up whom he de-sires. What provision of the Constitution or what law of Congress authorizes him to appoint a provisional governor for a State? What power does he de-rive from our theory of civil government to prescribe an oath for a voter and make a franchise law for a State ? By what authority does he say to a Legislature of a "soverign State," you must ratify certain constitutional amendments before I can accept you as being in your proper relations with the Union over which I preside ? Upon what law does he proceed to order a conven-tion to remodel the constitution of a State which never lost its power and say to that convention when assembled, you must repudiate your war debt, you muct abolish slavery, before you can resume your place in the Union again ?

I make no war upon the President for these acts. These are questions for his newly acquired supporters to reconcile to themselves. But I would scorn to accept the most costly jewels of earth handed over into my hands by one who had plucked them illegally and unlawfully from the head which wore them. By the law martial he exercised these acts. For myself I found no fault with them at the time, except that they perhaps fell short; but I do contend that all these acts are matters that the representatives of the people, the national Congress, has the right to pass upon, and that it belongs to them to determine when and how these States shall again resume their proper relations in the Union.

Their structures, then, having been thrown down. we must see that they are set up again; and in doing this, oppression, wrong, injustice, cruel laws, everything which stands in freedom's pathway, must be buried with the dead of the eonspiracy. The great, mad scheme of armed treason having failed; the death-stroke aimed at the nation having been thrust back and in the midst of war having cast out a great disturbing element, we want protection such as will be a guarantee for the future; such guarantees as will say to those who sought the nation's death, you cannot seize the helm and guide the ship of state again. We want, and the loyal people of the land demand, such action here as will secure to us in peace the triumph we have obtained in war.

Daily almost we are told on this floor and all over the country that the law which says no man who cannot take the oath commonly called the "test oath" is unconstitutional, that it is a disgrace to a free people—ay, sir. it does disgrace traitors—that we had no authority to pass it, and that we have no power under the Constitution to enforce it; that red-handed traitors, if they have taken

an oath to support the Constitution, have as much right to come into this Capitol and legislate for the people as the gallant soldier who bore the flag of his country amid the smoke and thunder of the battle, and crushed out by war these men who sought the life of the Republic; that these betrayers of their country have equal rights and are to stand in future side by side in equal honor and esteem with the war-worn veterans of four long weary years of toil and battle to save the nation from destruc ion. Go tell it to these men, and they will hurl it back with such scorn as will wither him who dare assert it in their presence. Go tell it to the survivors of the twelve thousand heroes who in the low, flat marsh of Belle Isle, passed the terrible winter of 1863 and 1864. and the ghosts of the starved and freezing dead of that pen of misery will confront you with the living heroes; and if shame itself does not compel you to call back the assertion, theu you have not the heart of a man. Go tell it to the twelve hundred, who in the same winter looked out through the iron bars of "old Libby's" gloomy walls, and in sight of boxes piled up across the street, stored for them by the loved ones at home with all the necessaries of life. starved and sickened for food, that the men who thus insulted them through those iron bars, taunted them and stole from them the bread for lack of which so many died, are to be their lawgivers in future, and you change humanity if ycu are not rebuked. Go tell it in the homes, once happy and bright, of the sixty thousand starved soldiers who died in loathsome and foul prison-pens, that the men committed these terrible crimes against them, against humanity and God, must make laws for the widow and orphan of the dead, and if your heart is not seared and cold as death, you will see the ghosts of their leap and wasted forms rise up before you and hear their sepulchral voices crying, " Back, back, back! Hide yourself along with the traitor whose cause you come to plead."

If the present law which prevents these men seizing the best place and all Federal offices is unauthorized and unconstitutional, then there is need that we make constitutional provision itself which will say to them, "Having failed by arms in your purpose to rule, you must be ruled herafter by the loyal men who defeated your mad and wicked design." Let us make the substance of this law a part of the Constitution itself, and then the great triumph is secured to the people, that those, and those only, who are true to the nation, and who fight against treason, shall have the reward given them to rule the land, and by this prove that the hundreds ef thousands who have gone down to their graves in the death-grapple with treason have not died in vain.

Again, treason by law is declared a crime. The present head of the nation has uttered the continent over and over again in every position he has held during the war, from that of a private citizen even up to the very exalted position he now holds. Shall a crime go unpunished i Shall men guilty of this the greatest of all crimes against the State, and those who are its guilty actors, go free i Shall they in future be regarded as on an equal footing with those who for more than four long years perilled their lives in defence of the liberties which these men sought to destroy i Shall they be permitted, simply upon taking an oath to the Constitution of the United States, to come back into these Halls, from which, when they took their voluntary departure, they swore in their wrath they never would return, to stand here again and legislate for the widow and orphan of the brave men whose lives were sacrificed by the insane attempt of these men to destroy all that is great and good on the continent of America is this the punishment treason is to have meted out to it is the sub at the President of the United States meant when he declared that treason is a crime and must be punished? Is this the meaning of his declaration of March 2, 1861, in the other end of this Capitol—

"Show me who has been engaged in these conspiracies, who has fired upon our flag, who has given instructions to take our forts and custom-houses and arsenals an dockyards, and I will show you a traitor. Were I President of the United States I would do as Thomas Jefferson did in 1806 with Aaron Burr. I would have them arrested, and if convicted within the meaning and scope of the law, by the eternal God, I would execute them "

Hear another declaration from the same voice as late as April 20, 1865, only six days after the conspirators of treason had struck down by assination Abraham Lincoln:

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"It is time the American people should be taught to understand that treason is a crime -not in revenge, not in anger, but that treason is a crime, and should be esteemed as such and punished as such."

Agaia, sir, I make no attack upon the President. I indose every word in the two quotations which I have read, and agaiu I leave it to the unhung rebels, the unpardoned traitors, the anti-war party at the North, who make up the great mass of the new supporters of the President, to reconcile these sentiments with the support they now extend.

In this connection I know I will be pardoned for observing that an evening journal of this city, which has kept these declarations at its masthead in flaming capitals for many months, has, since the extraordinary scenes in this capital of the 22d of last month, struck them out altogether. Are these declara-tions to be withdrawn? Are we to lose sight of them? Sir, I pray God the people will not forget them, but that they will proclaim them with a voice so loud and deep that it will bring back the nation to the sound, and thunder it into the ears of power until they compel their fulfillment, at least upon the chiefs of the conspiracy.

But let me quote once more, and let the people think over this language when they view what has followed upon the close of the war. On the 10th of June, 1864, at Nashville, we find the President use this langauge. For language similar to this, used by members upon this floor, such members have been denounced by those who now clamor for the President and his policy as traitors and disunionists :

"But, in calling a convention to restore the State, who shall restore and re-establish it? Shall the man who gave bis influence and means to destoy the Government? Is he to par-tleipate in the great work of reorganization? Shall he who brought this misery upon the State be permitted to control its destinies? If this be so, then all this precious blood of our brave soldiers and officers, so treely poured out, will have been wantonly spilled. All the glorious victories by our no le armies will go tor naught, and all the battle-fields which have been sown with dead heroes during this robellion will have been made memorable in vain. Why all this carnage and devastation? It was that treason might be put down and traitors punished Therefore I say that traitors should take a back seat in the work of reorgan-to freedom or loyal to justice, these true and faithful men should control the work of reorgan-ization and reformation absolutely. I say that the traitor has ceased to be a cluizen, and in joining the rebellion has become a public enemy." * * * * "Before these repending rebels can be trusted, let them bring torth rhe fruits of repentance."

And he added :

"And these leaders must feel the power of the Government. Treason must be made edi-ous and trattors must be impoverished. Their great plantations must be seized and divided into small forms and sold to humest, industriant men ?" into small farms and sold to honest, industrious men.

Let us see how these utterances have been followed. Have traitors a back seat in the restoration of the States recently in rebellion ? Who is Governor of the State of Mississippi? Benjamin J. Humphreys, elected even before he had his pardon in his pocket. Who of North Carolina? Jonathan Worth, had his parton in the pocket. If no of iter the carolina's standard to be soldiers of Jeff. Davis three his printing press into the street. Who of the State of South Carolina's James L. Orr, who was a leader in the rebel congress. Who ruled their conventions in their reorganization's Men fresh from the rebel armies. Who came knocking at the doors of these Halls for admission? An unbroken delegation of traitors from the States of South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama; men who served as senators and representatives under that bastard concern of Jeff. Davis. Even the unpardoned vice-president of the so-called confederacy is sent as a Senator from the State of Georgia, and the sterling patriot Hill is told we have no use for such men as you in Georgia, and she wants no such representatives at the national capital.

Now, sir, we do not expect to hang all the traitors. The world affords no parallel of a great conspiracy, such as we have had in this country, in which all the guilty actors suffered the penalty of the law. For myself, I shall be satisfied if the President will carry out his declarations so far as to hang even a few of the leading actors in this drama of blood; but I will not be satisfied to see these men and their sympathizers gain the triumph, when the war has passed by the ballot which they failed to secure by the bayonet in the field.

Again, sir, we are told that we must trust these people, these men who sought

the life of the nation. We are told, now that they submit, that they are as loyal as any people. Yes, we are told more than this; we are now told that the men who stood by the flag of their country, and who defied treason in the darkest hours of the Republic, and who now demand guarantees for the security of their hard-earned labors; and the representatives of these loyal people who demand these guarantees, are disunionists, traitors, disloyal men, and that we are seeking to destroy the Government.

Mr. Speaker, if seeking to secure to those who resisted a great conspiracy, and who defeated its aims, the control of the Government which their strong arm has saved constitutes a disunionist, then I plead guilty to the charge. If asking that traitors be punished, and have given to them the very modified form of punishment which simply prohibits them from holding office under the Government whose death they sought, then I bear upon me the mark of traitor, and shall wear it to my grave as the proudest badge of honor my country could bestow upon me. It to ask that the victory won by loyal arms be secured by a fundamental law to those who never fultered in their support of the Union against armed foes, and that those foes in future shall not stand on an equality with these brave men, then I am a disloyal man; but bear in mind, sir, such a disloyal man, such a traitor, such a dismoinist as no law, no statute, and no constitutional provision known in this Republic condemns either to desth, to exile, to imprisonment, or to disqualification from office. How stands my case in comparison with the followers of Jefferson Davis i I leave the country to judge as to who are the traitors.

The law defines treason as a crime and fixes the penalty; but as no man expects or desires, as history shows no case, and should not where all who have engaged in such gigantic conspiracies have suffered the extreme penalty of the law, and as the President himself has declared that treason is a crime, must be punished, and traitors made odious, let us by this amendment punish them for their crimes; lut us make all who have engaged in treason infamous in the eyes of the law to all time by saying to them, you can neither make laws nor can you administer them for the loyal people of this land. And while I do think that the vindication of the power of the Government demands the execution of certainly the leading traitors of the rehellion, justice to the memory of the dead requires that their graves shall not be ruled over by men who waged a war against the nation in whose defense these heroes fell.

In my humble judgment, this is the safest and surest guarantee the nation can have for the future. Men know when they enter a great conspiracy that if it fails they will not have the extreme penalty of death inflicted upon them, therefore they do not hesitate when it gets under way to enter it; but let the Constitution cut them off forever from all the offices of trust, honor, or profit, and let this provision be enforced, and ambitious men will be slow to commit an act which silences their voices in all that pertains to the great rights of freemen forever. Let us adopt this amendment, and the men who have proved unf ithful, the men who made war upon us, can never assume control of this Gevernment again. Adopt this amendment, and you put the legal stamp of condemnation upon them, and forever secure to the loyal the victory over armed treason which the Army of the Union achieved and scaled by the blood of more than three hundred thousand slain soldiers of the Republic.

Now, let us see how much these people are to be trusted. We must judge the future by the past. What has been their past? Do they present such a record as will justify this House, the Representatives of the people, the executive power, and the great loyal country which maintained the Government, in trusting them? Their great leaders set in these Halls, held high places in all departments of the Government, and the most responsible positions in each of the States which went into secession. Each and every one had sworn to support the Constitution of the United States and to uphold the laws thereunder, and with this solemn oath resting upon their souls they plunged into a rebellion having for its chief purpose the destruction of the very Government they had thus pledged their honor to maintain. They then eagerly took a second oath, and pledged their eternal support to a bogus confederacy in direct antagonism to the Government of the United States. Four years roll on—years of strife, of din and battle and war, in all its fury, by reason of this treachery; and these same leaders, with their deluded followers echoing their sentiments, pour out anathemas, and invectives against the freemen of the North, swear and reswear and then swear once more that they bever will consent to live under Federal power again; that the war must go on until their independence is achieved, or war forever; that they would continue until the last of the race had gone down into bloody graves upon the battle-field rather than yield; that the honor of the sons of the south would carry on the struggle until victory or death crowned their labors.

What has come of all their oaths; what of all their boasts; what of their honor? They perjured themselves in their first oath of allegiance to the Government of the United States when they left our flag. Their boastings and their honor fell back in terror, and presented a ghastly show before the advance of the grand Army of the Union as it swept on from Culpeper, through the Wilderness, over the ramparts of Spotsylvania, across the Rapidan, and thundering at the gates of Petersburg, rolled its echoes to the rebel capital, and made the great leader of treason tremble for his safety. Ay, sir, went out of their souls as the heroes of liberty, with the grand shout of victory, closed around their lines, and the ripling waters of the Appomattox told the story, "Your vaunting words have failed." What scene do we witness then ! Not having taken oaths enough yet; not having pledged their honor sufficiently often, they advance from their discomfiture, and faster than oaths can be filled up, they swear anew to support the Constitution of the United States, swear to support all laws of Congress and all proclamations made by the President during the war in reference to slaves; ay, further, swearing to support all that are to be made in future; and having done this they coolly tell us, "We are loyal men, we are to be trusted," and uniting with those who, during the war, were their sympathizers in the North, and who aiding them by attempts to baffle the Government, preaching against it, and denouncing it as a tyranny and a usurpation, more than half fought their battles of treason. Joined to a few recreants to the cause of their country and freedom, with fawners at the foot of power, they have the effrontery to say to the Repre sentatives of the nation in this Capitol, to the Representatives of that people who crushed out treason, "You are traitors to your country if you deny our right to rule." Ay, more, it is printed in their papers, not only South but North, and their utterances whispered through excited crowds, led by men who during the war were shut up in prison for their treason, "This traitor Congress must be driven from the Halls of the nation's Capitol" if we do not admit to our deliberations these unrepentant conspirators; these thriceperjured individuals; these men of honor!

And are we to be controlled by such threa's as there? Must we fling wide open our doors and bid such men, acknowledged traitors to their country's laws, with fierce wrath burning in their hearts not only against us, but against all who resisted them, because of their defeat, and because we dare ask a vindication of the honored dead, hecause we dare propose laws to secure to the living heroes the control of the land in whose peril they went forth to battle, and which by their valor they saved; must we yield to them the fruits of our victory, bought by four long weary years of blood? Let others do as they may, but when you ask me to give my consent and to join in the surrender, I answer "Never! never!"

Believing this proposition to be right, I contend for it, rnd I ask the representatives of the nation's defenders to consider it, to adopt it, and hold out for it until we have secured its ratification. Will men hesitate to do right because of a fear, because of opposition in certain quarters, a fear that it will not be adopted; that we cannot secure the required number of States in its favor? There is no measure, sir, that will so firmly unite the loyal people. There is nothing to the support of which they will more eagerly rally. Upon this the loyal party of the nation can stand and can and will win success, because it will be a success of the struggle in peace with the laurels they so nobly won in war. Dare any party go before the loyal North and contend that traitors shall be allowed to make and execute laws and rule over the men by whose strong arm the power of the conspiracy was crushed in war; they will be swept out of existence and more overwhelmingly defeated than were the armed hosts of Jefferson Davis. We can secure the adoption of this amendment,^{*} which, in my opinion, the country so imperatively demands. Every State which was loyal during the war will pass such an amendment; then, sir, if the States which went into the rebellion desire to move on again on the great principle which the war has settled, that those who stand by the Government shalt rule, let them accept this, the greatest issue of the war

But we are told that these people and these States ubmit now; that they accept the issues of war. Do they! How do they accept them? By their course since their armies surrendered; by their public and private acts; by their fierce and bitter invectives against aud denunciations of all who stood up to thwart their designs; by their ostracism, politically, civilly, and socially, of all Union men within the limits of territory over which they lately ruled; by electing the most violent rebels to all the offices in all these States, and by their country; by insulting the loyal dead and the living victor in sending up to this Capitol, to take part in the national legislation of the country, the very leaders of the rebellion itself, and that, too, in the face of the law which says you shall not enter—even sending to our doors unpardoned rebels! Sir, if men see submission in these things I do not. If men find an acceptance of issues in these things their search is deeper and more incomprehensible than mine.

Sir, I desire peace. I have seen enough of war. For four years I lived and breathed and acted in the midst of war. I have seen it on the battle-field, heard it in the groans of the dying; have seen its fierce fires sweep around my own home; have seen the soldiers of the Republic in the dark, gloomy, and horrid pens of misery, where rebel bayonets compelled these heroes and defenders of freedom to starve and freeze and sicken under a banner which flaunted treason over them as, away from friends and all they held most dear. life fled and their spirits went home to God; have seen it in all its horrors, and want to no more. But I want a peace which, when it binds up the wounded side of the Republic, will say to the widows and orphans of these dead heroes of the nation, you shall enjoy the ruits of victory gained by the martyrs who have fallen. I want a peace which places those gems of honor which men seek to wear in their crowns forever beyond the reach of him who has dared to raise his hand or lift his voice to bring dishonor upon our banner of beanty and glory, or who has had it in his heart to blot out one star from that emblem of liberty and freedom. I desire to see our country move on in her career of glory, but I desire to see her made secure to the people who stood by and upheld her laws, and do not wish to see her destinies transferred into the hands of men who sought her destruction. I desire to see those people who wandered away from their duty come back into our house again, but not to rule it. When the poor prodigal who without cause left his father's house, found himself starving and in want, he did not come back claiming the inheritance as these men do. How would his father have met him had he come proudly boasting of his deeds, and said, all the matters over which you exercise control I have an equal right to share and govern with my brother who always remained with you in obedience? Would the old man, think you, have killed the fatted calf for this unrepentant son! Such is not the teaching of the Book from which this parable comes.

Let these wanderers, then, accept the issues of war, the main one of which is that the loyal must rule. Let them prove their faith by their works; show their leyalty by their acts; show their submission by giving their voices to secure the great ends for which the gallant army of the Union fought. Let us put this amendment before them. Upon it they may pledge their faith, and when they adopt the proposition they then prove to the world that they do accept the greatest of all issues, and the nation teaches a lesson to men to rebel against a free Government no more forever. If they refuse to accept it, it is proof that they do not accept the issues of the conflict; that they do not admit their wrong; and with their hearts still burning with fiery zeal and indignation against those who prevented them from carrying into effect their schemes to destroy this Union are they, or so long as they hold these feelings will they be, fit to resume all their rights and proper relations in this Union * Are they



the men to be placed upon an equal footing with those who never raised an arm against their country's flag? Whether we would have the right or whether it would be true policy to say to them, you cannot resume your proper relations in the Union until you have ratified this amendment, is a question I need not answer. But should we demand such action, we have the precedent of the President of the United States to guide, and 1 believe the loyal heart of the union would respond in a loud amen.

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But we will be told that this kind of a restoration is incomplete; that its success will not tranquilize nor satisfy the South, and that it ought not to do so; that there are not loyal men enough in the South who are fit to represent them; that only traitors are intelligent and have qualifications such as are suitable for representatives of the people. Then, sir, it is their fault and not ours. Let them go unrepresented until men rise up who are fit. In this land ideas are rapidly developed, and while we wait for material the interests of the country will not suffer because we have not these intelligent traitors to aid us in making and executing the laws of the nation. But the assertion is not true. To-day there are in every district in the southern States Union men as well qualified to hold Federal places of all kinds as the traitors who arrogate this wisdom to themselves. In the language of a man whose home is more southern than my own, "Let them have the benefit of equal laws, but take from them at once and forever the power and temptation to renew their assults upon the life of their country. Let no Union man, high or low, court the favor of traitors. He will never win it. From the first they have held him as their enemy, and to the last they will be his. Every Union man who puts his trust in them will sconer or later find it out."

Let the representatives of the people do their duty and the people will stand by them. Let us make this a part of the Constitution of our country. A real, permanent triumph will then have been achieved; the honor of the nation not only vindicated, but the nation itself protected and guarantied for the future; the honor of the scarred veteran, and of his dead brother soldiers engraven in colors of living light which no time can efface on their country's record; the widows and orphans of the departed heroes have their ad homes--made lonely by accursed treason-comforted in the great accomplished fact, written in characters in the Constitution of the country, in whose defense their martyred husbands and fathers died, in characters which will last so long as the Republic lives; the loyal rule the land they saved; the traitors voice is hushed and must be silent forever; the green grass which grows upon the patriot's grave, the flowers which bloom around their resting-places shall wave in the triumph of freedom, and the whirlwind and the thunder-cloud as they sweep past their tombs, re-echo with tones that will shake the world; the hand that lifts itself against the law is struck down; the voice which advocates treason, conspiracy, and rebellion shall not again be heard in the Republic forever.

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